

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 IO-14 OIC-04 OMB-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 NEA-14 SAJ-01

TRSE-00 SAM-01 DRC-01 /166 W
----- 106865

R 101230Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2719
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 4169

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING,
MAY 7, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AD HOC GROUP BEGAN ITS DISCUSSION
OF TACTICS FOR THE NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. US REP
REPORTED ON HIS WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS, TO THE EFFECT
THAT THE USG FELT THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD COVE AHEAD,
BUT WITHOUT HASTS, AND HAD ACCEPTED THE AD HOC GROUP'S
RECOMMENDATION TO CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON PHASING.
NETHERLANDS, CANADIAN AND FRG REPS AGREED WITH
REMARKS BY US REP AND THERE WAS NO DISSENT. WITH
REGARD TO NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES, GROUP AGREED THAT
EASTERN AGREEMENT SHOULD BE SOUGHT FOR ONE PLENARY
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EVERY TWO WEEKS AND ONE INFORMAL PER WEEK. BELGIAN

ACTING REP (BURNY) ACCEPTED THIS, WHILE EXPRESSING BELGIAN DESIRE TO MOVE TO WORKING GROUPS WHEN PRACTICABLE. THE NEXT PLENARY IS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE ON MAY 10, ALTHOUGH FINAL EASTERN CONFIRMATION HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVED. THE GROUP AGREED THAT THE ALLIED STATEMENT WILL BE GIVEN BY THE NETHERLANDS REP, AND APPROVED A DRAFT OUTLINE FOR THE STATEMENT AFTER DISCUSSION. END SUMMARY.

PROCEDURAL MATTERS

2. AFTER DISCUSSION CHAIRMAN (DANISH REP TILLISCH) ASKED BELGIAN ACTING REP TO INFORM AUSTRIANS THAT PLENARY WAS SCHEDULED FOR MAY 10 AND TO TELL THE EAST THAT HE HAD DONE SO.

3. CHAIRMAN ASKED GROUP WHICH ALLIED REP SHOULD DELIVER NEXT PLENARY STATEMENT. AT SUGGESTION OF UK REP (ROSE), GROUP AGREED THAT NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) WOULD DELIVER STATEMENT.

DISCUSSION OF DRAFT OUTLINE PLENARY STATEMENT

4. CHAIRMAN INVITED COMMENTS ON DRAFT OUTLINE FOR MAY 10 PLENARY STATEMENT. UK DEP REP (GOODALL) SAID DRAFTING GROUP HAD ADOPTED US DRAFT WITH MINOR CHANGES IN THE ORDER OF POINTS MADE, THAT THE GROUND COVERED WAS VERY WELL TRODDEN, THAT IN ESSENCE THE OUTLINE REOPENS THE PICTURE ALONG THE LINES OF US REP'S LAST PLENARY STATEMENT, AND THAT DRAFTING GROUP WOULD ATTEMPT TO EXPRESS THESE IDEAS IN NEW LANGUAGE IN THE ACTUAL TEXT.

5. CANADIAN REP SUGGESTED, IN REFERENCE TO A PASSAGE ON THE TWO PHASES OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, THAT IT BE MADE CLEAR THAT TWO SEPARATE AGREEMENTS WERE CALLED FOR. ITALIAN REP THEN SUGGESTED THAT US REDUCTION OF 29,000 MEN BE GIVEN INSTEAD AS A PERCENTAGE OF

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US FORCES, I.E., FIFTEEN PERCENT. BELGIAN ACTING REP REPLIED THAT HE PREFERRED THE 29,000 FIGURE TO THE PERCENTAGE BECAUSE OF THE APPARENT POSSIBILITY OF VARIATIONS OF US TROOP STRENGTH.

6. US REP INTERJECTED THAT ANY IMPRESSION THAT THE US IS CONSIDERING A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS WAS APPARENTLY BASED ON TWO RECENT ARTICLES IN THE

NEW YORK TIMES BY FINNEY. THESE ARTICLES WERE
ERRONEOUS. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAD ASSURED HIM
THAT THESE ARTICLES WERE INACCURATE AND THAT HE
WAS OPPOSED TO WITHDRAWALS EXCEPT BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT.

7. GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) SAID THAT HE HAD READ IN
TWO SEPARATE ARTICLES THAT THE US INTENDED TO WITH-
DRAW NO MORE THAN 25,000 AND THEN ONLY IN THE
FRAMEWORK OF AN AGREEMENT, AND THEREFORE AGREED THAT
THE 29,000 FIGURE BE USED INSTEAD OF A PERCENTAGE.
ITALIAN REP ADDED THAT IT WAS TOO LATE TO CHANGE THE
29,000 FIGURE. UK REP SAID THAT HE PREFERRED NOT TO
EMPHASIZE THE 15 PERCENT BECAUSE OF THE IMPLICATIONS
FOR THE SECOND PHASE. IN ANY CASE, HE POINTED OUT,
ALLIES HAD ALWAYS USED 29,000 FIGURE. GROUP AGREED
TO ADHERE TO 29,000 FIGURE.

BILATERAL

8. NETHERLANDS REP GAVE BRIEF REPORT OF VISIT TO
MOSCOW BY NETHERLANDS FOREIGN MINISTER. DURING TALKS
GROMYKO HAD CONFIRMED SOVIET PRIORITY FOR CSCE AND
HAD SAID THAT CSCE WOULD HAVE TO PRODUCE RESULTS,
WHICH WOULD THEN HAVE INFLUENCE ON MBFR. NETHERLANDS
REP NOTED GROMYKO'S STRONG EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO

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R 101230Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2720

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USNISSION NATO 1610

AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS; FROM US REP MBFR

PHASING AND HIS UNYEILDING STANCE IN GENERAL, BUT NOTED THAT GROMYKO WOULD NOT HAVE CHOSEN THIS OCCASION TO INDICATE FUTURE FLEXIBILITY AT MBFR ANYWAY.

DISCUSSION OF FUTURE TACTICS

9. CHAIRMAN INVITED COMMENTS ON FUTURE TACTICS. US REP OPENED BY REVIEWING HIS WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS. WASHINGTON AUTHORITIES WERE IMPRESSED BY WORK OF THE GROUP AND COHESION OF ALLIES. HE HAD FOUND CONSIDERABLE CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION DURING HIS APPEARANCE BEFORE A HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE AND ON MAY 6 BEFORE SENATOR MUSKIE'S SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND HAD BEEN ABLE TO GIVE A VERY POSITIVE REPORT. U.S. VIEW WAS THAT ALLIES SHOULD MOVE AHEAD AT A DELIBERATE PACE WITHOUT DISPLAY OF UNDUE HASTE. SOME US EXPERTS ON THE
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SOVIET UNION THOUGHT THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE GIVING PRIORITY TO CSCE AND THAT THERE WOULD BE LITTLE SOVIET MOVEMENT IN MBFR UNTIL THE SOVIETS SEE HOW CSCE TURNS OUT. THIS FEELING WAS NOT UNANIMOUS, HOWEVER, AND THIS VIEW COULD BE PUT TO THE PRAGMATIC TEST IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

10. US REP NOTED THAT USG HAD REACTED POSITIVELY TO AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO COUNCIL AND HAD AGREED THAT ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR PHASING FIRST AND THEN ADDRESS THE SHAPE OF THE REDUCTION PACKAGE AND THE COMMON CEILING IN DETAIL. WITH REGARD TO SECURING AGREEMENT ON PHASING, USG HAD REVIEWED EASTERN CONCERNS MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF GROUP'S REPORT TO NAC AND HAD GIVEN AUTHORITY TO MAKE CERTAIN ASSURANCES TO THE EAST, SUBJECT TO THE APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL AND THE AHG; ALL WERE CONTINGENT ON EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE GOAL OF A COMMON CEILING.

11. US REP THEN CIRCULATED FOR THE RECORD PROPOSED GUIDANCE (TEXT FROM US NATO 2411) WHICH HAD BEEN TABLED BY AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD AT NATO, CONTAINING PROPOSED ALLIED ASSURANCES TO THE EAST TO MEET THE CONCERNS OF THE LATTER.

12. WITH REGARD TO TACTICS, US DELEGATION FELT THAT ALLIES

MIGHT START WITH FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN PHASES AND PROCEED TO OTHER POINTS IN SEQUENCE, DEPENDING ON EASTERN RESPONSE.

13. US REP SAID THA TUSG FELT THAT INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EAST WERE BEST FORUM IN WHICH TO INTRODUCE ABOVEMENTIONED POINTS AND RECOMMENDED ONE INFORMAL SESSION PER WEEK, STARTING WITH WEEK OF MAY 13. US REP PORPOSED TO SOUND OUT SOVIET REP ON INFORMAL SESSION FREQUENCY AT MAY 10 PLENARY MEETING. IN FIRST INFORMAL MEETING, US REP CONTEMPLATED MERELY RECAPITULATING VIEWS PRESENTED AT LAST INFORMAL SO AS NOT TO APPEAR TOO EAGER AND IN ORDER TO GIVE EAST OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT ANY IDEANS THEY MAY HAVE BROUGHT BACK.

14. US REP SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE SUEFUL IN NEXT FEW DAYS TO CONSIDER SENDING A MESSAGE TO NAC TO REEMPHASIZE URGENCY OF RECEIVING GUIDANCE ON PRIORITY QUESTIONS.

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15. WITH REGARD TO FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES, US DEL FELT THAT ONE EVERY TWO WEEKS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. IF THE EASTERN SIDE WISHED TO KEEP UP THE PUBLIC POSTURE OF ONE PLENARY A WEEK, ALLIES COULD SUGGEST THAT THERE BE ONLY ONE SPEAKER PER PLENARY. IF THE EAST DOES NOT AGREE, ALLIES CAN INFORM THEM THAT ALLIES WILL SPEAK ONLY ONCE EVERY TWO WEEKS, THAT SIDES HAVE EXHAUSTED MATERIAL SUITABLE FOR PLENARY AT THIS TIME, AND THAT IT WAS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS TO REPEAT OLD ARGUMENTS.

16. NETHERLANDS REP SAID HIS GOVERNMENT FORESAW SOME DIFFICULTIES IMPLICIT IN THE AMERICAN PROPOSED GUIDANCE DISTRIBUTED TO NAC AND AHG. HE FELT THAT THE EIGHTEEN-MONTH DURATION OF THE FIXED PERIOD BETWEEN PHASES WAS RATHER LONG, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT ALLIES HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TO A SECOND PHASE "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE". FURTHERMORE, WITH REGARD TO THE PROPOSED ASSURANCE TO THE EAST THAT ALL NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN THE SECOND PHASE, THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT FORESAW A POSSIBLE CONFLICT WITH NECESSITY TO AVOID ANY IMPLICATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF SUBCEILINGS ON NATO FORCES. IF SUCH AN ASSURANCE WERE GIVEN, AND ALL COUNTRIES WERE REQUIRED TO REDUCE BY AT LEAST ONE PERCENT, AND IF THEN ONE COUNTRY, FOR EXAMPLE FRANCE, WITHDREW A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF TROOPS, THE OTHERS WOULD BE UNABLE TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES TO THE AGREED COMMON CEILINGS TO COMPENSATE FOR SUCH WITHDRAWAL. THIS DIFFICULTY MIGHT PERHAPS BE OVERCOME BY AGREEING TO INITIAL REDUCTIONS BUT WITH THE PROVISIO THAT SUBSEQUENTLY EACH ALLIANCE WOULD BE PERMITTED TO CHANGE NATIONAL FORCE CONTRIBUTIONS IN ANY PROPOERTION DESIRED WITHIN THE AGREED COMMON CEILING.

17. FRG REP SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT AGREED WITH NETHERLANDS REP'S POINTON AVOIDANCE OF ANY IMPLICATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS OR NAYTHING WHICH WOULD ENTAIL SUBCEILINGS. ALLIES MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE REDUCTIONS IS THE INTERNAL AFFAIR OF EACH ALLIANCE. HE FELT THAT IT WAS UNDESIRABLE TO SPELL OUT THE FIXED PERIOD BETWEEN PHASES AT EIGHTEEN MONTHS AS THIS WOULD NOT BE ESPECIALLY ATTRACTIVE TO THE SOVIETS.

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R 101230Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2721

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

FRG REP AGREED WITH SUGGESTION OF US REP ON FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES AND INFORMALS.

18. ITALIAN REP AGREED WITH POINTS MADE BY FRG AND NETHERLANDS REPS ON SUBCEILINGS AND ADDED THAT HE ALSO SAW NO NEED FOR AHG TO WRESTLY WITH PROBLEMS ALREADY UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE SPC. ITALIAN REP NOTED THAT NEW WORD "ALL" HAD BEEN PREFIXED TO TERM" NON-US

PARTICIPANTS" AND QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS WAS DESIRABLE. HE ALSO OBJECTED TO PHRASE THAT "PHASE II COULD BEGIN AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE AFTER CONCLUSION OF PHASE I", SINCE THIS COULD SUGGEST A VERY SHORT INTERVAL, WHICH WAS NOT WHAT SOME ALLIES DESIRED.

19. US REP NOTED THAT THE SPECIFIED DURATION OF 18 MONTHS FOR THE FIXED PERIOD BETWEEN PHASES
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MENTIONED IN THE PROPOSED GUIDANCE WAS INTENDED ONLY AS GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP AND WAS NOT NECESSARILY INTENDED TO BE PRESENTED TO THE EAST AT THE OUTSET. PRESENT STAGE WAS NOT ONE FOR LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD BE USED IN AN AGREEMENT SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION, BUT ONLY FOR HINTS TO BE GIVEN TO THE OTHER SIDE. US DEPREP ADDED THAT ALLIES SHOULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN FINAL FORM OF AGREEMENT AND HINTS MADE TO THE EAST IN INFORMAL SESSIONS WHICH WOULD BE IN VERY GENRAL TERMS. ALLIES WOULD NOT NEED TO SPECIFY DETAILS UNTIL THEY WERE VERY FAR DOWN ALONG THE ROAD AFTER MUCH NEGOTIATIONS. THE PURPOSE NOW WAS MERELY TO OFFER INDUCEMENTS TO THE OTHER SIDE.

20. ITALIAN REP SAID THAT HE AND OTHER ALLIED REPS HAD BEEN VMISLED IN THIS REGARD BY THE WORDING IN THE US-POPOSED GUIDANCE "ALLIED REPS WILL TAKE FOLLOWING STEPS".

21. CANADIAN REP SUMMARIZED HIS GOVERNMENT'S THINKING ON MBFR AT THIS TIME. CANADIAN DELEGATION DID NOT WISH TO COMMENT IN DETAIL AT THIS TIME ON US PROPOSED GUIDANCE, ON WHICH HE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED THE VEIWS OF HIS GOVERNMENT, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT IT WAS A GOOD EFFORT. CANADIAN GOVERNMENT FELT THAT LOWEST PRIORITY WITHIN ALLIANCE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ITEMS WHICH ARE NON-NEGOTIABLE FROM NATO POINT OF VIEW. HIGHEST PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO PHASE LINKAGE, WHICH IS WEAKEST ELEMENT IN ALLIED APPROACH. NO PROGRESS CAN BE EXPECTED UNTIL IT IS SOLVED. SECOND PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO DATA FOR NATO FORCES-- WHICH ARE CENTRAL TO THE DIALOGUE. THIRD PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO QUESTION OF WHETHER TO PRESS FOR AN OVERT VERIFICATION SYSTEM. ALLIES HAD TOLD EAST THAT THEY MIGHT WISH TO PRESENT FURTHER STABILIZATION MEASURES. IF THIS IS NOT DONE WITHOUT DELAY, THE EAST WILL SUSPECT DISAGREEMENT IN NATO. CANADIAN GOVERNMENT ALSO ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO POSSIBLE INCLUSION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND FREEZE ON NUCLEAR FORCES. CANADIAN DELEGATION IS SEEKING

AUTHORITY TO STATE THAT CANADIAN FORCES WOULD BE
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INCLUDED IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS BUT HAS NOT YET
RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS. CANADIAN REP FELT THAT GROUP
SHOULD NOT DUPLICATE WORK UNDERWAY IN BRUSSELS BUT
DID NOT OBJECT TO REEMPHASIZING PRIORITIES IN MESSAGE
TO NAC IF NECESSARY.

22. BELGIAN ACTING REP SAID THAT HE HAD JUST COME
FROM BRUSSELS AND FELT THAT THE NEEDED GUIDANCE AND
DATA WOULD BE FORTHCOMING SOON. WITH REGARD TO US
REP'S REMARK ON CONTINUATION OF INFORMAL SESSIONS,
BELGIAN REP NOTED THAT THESE VIEWS CLEARLY REFLECTED
MAJORITY VIEW IN AD HOC GROUP. HOWEVER, BELGIAN REP
STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT FELT THAT PLENARIES SHOULD
REMAIN THE PRINCIPAL FORUM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS,
ALTHOUGH IT AGREED THAT THE ATMOSPHERE AT THEM WAS
TOO FORMAL. HIS GOVERNMENT ALSO FELT THAT ALLIES
SHOULD SEEK AGREEMENT OF EAST TO CREATION OF
WORKING GROUPS. HIS GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE INFORMAL
SESSIONS ONLY BECAUSE WORKING GROUPS DID NOT APPEAR
FEASIBLE AT THIS TIME.

23. CANADIAN REP AGREED WITH PREVIOUS SPEAKERS THAT
THE INFORMALS WERE THE BEST FORUM FOR THE TASK AT
HAND, AND THAT ONE INFORMAL PER WEEK AND ONE PLENARY
EVERY TWO WEEKS WAS THE RIGHT SCHEDULE.

24. SEC. GEN. REP (COHEN) SAID THAT HE HAD ATTENDED
MEETING OF SPC 6 MAY. HE SAID ITS TIMETABLE WAS TO
AIM FOR A PAPER WHICH THE NAC COULD APPROVE BY MAY 15.

25. NEXT AHG MEETING WAS SET FOR MAY 8 AT 10:30 A.M.
HUMES

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